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form a kind of metallic conductor, which diverts the lightning from the guilty head, and draws it innocuous to the ground.—  
(*Long and continued applause.*)

Gentlemen, the individuals who are best acquainted with the constitution of the House of Commons have treated it according to their apprehension of its merits. The late Mr. Pitt was once guilty of so flagrant a violation of its rules and orders, that Mr. Speaker intimated to him that the House waited for his apology—on which Mr. Pitt declared, “that it might then wait till dooms-day, for no apology would he make.” And when my Lord Melville stood at the bar of the honourable House, and could not deny that he had diverted a large sum of money from the purposes for which it had been voted, he audaciously averred, that “no process which the House could devise, should wring from his breast the secret of its appropriation.” Gentlemen, I appeal to you, and ask you whether these ministers would have dared to address such language to the House of Commons had they regarded it as a real representation of the people?—(*Great applause.*)

Gentlemen, the evil of which we complain has a wider operation than what is generally calculated upon: we have all of late felt indignation at the wrongs, and exultation at the triumph, of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales—(*Loud burst of applause.*)—It is now becoming a matter of notoriety, that the sufferings which she has already endured were intended to be to her but the beginning of sorrows. The profligate junto, who assiduously endeavour to poison the ear of the Prince Regent, taking advantage of the unfortunate misunderstanding which appears to have alienated him from his consort, have suggested the idea—that though no evidence is to be found of guilt on her part, it is yet practicable to procure, without a trial by her peers, a parliamentary divorce. And when in the discussion of this idea they have been reminded of the power of the House of Commons, they have represented that House as subservient

to the Court and the ministry—and have quoted as authority for this degrading sentiment the conduct of the late House of Commons in the case of Lord Castlereagh, and its apathy on the restitution of the Duke of York to the Commandership in chief. Whether this project will be prosecuted I know not: Whether if it be prosecuted, the present House of Commons will acquiesce in it, I know not. But of this I am assured, that if the House of Commons be as it ought to be, the express image of the good feelings of the people, the illustrious female in question would speedily be raised, not only to safety, but to honour. (*Great applause.*)

Gentlemen, I thank you for the patient hearing which you have afforded me. I repeat, and that unaffectedly, my wish, that the moving of this question had fallen into abler hands. On the question of Reform, our minds are naturally directed to a friend, whose name will be held in honour in this town, whilst its inhabitants retain any esteem for talents, or reverence for virtue. How well has that individual filled up in his public character the outline of a perfect politician, which is drawn by the immortal Shakespear.

“Love thyself last; cherish those hearts that wait thee;  
Corruption wins not more than honesty.  
Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,  
To silence envious tongues. Be just, and fear not.  
Let all the ends thou aim’st at be thy country’s.”

Gentlemen, I am authorized by Mr. Roscoe, (*immense applause,*) to say, that though he is necessarily absent, by reason of severe indisposition, his heart is with us, he concurs in our views, he will countenance our petition with his signature. Supported then by this high authority, I feel the more confidence in formally moving, that the meeting do petition the House of Commons, praying for a Parliamentary Reform. (*Long continued applause.*)

Mr. Casey read the Petition, which was carried nearly unanimously.

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## MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

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AND is this *all*, we could not help exclaiming on seeing the first draught of the Catholic bill? Is this bill, entitled as it is for “*the further*

*relief*” of the Catholics, to be considered as the consummation so devoutly to be wished, the “final adjustment,” which is to heal all jealousies, to bury in oblivion all animosities, and to bind the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, by an identity of privileges and of interests, in defence of their *common* liberties and government? This bill of “*further relief*,” is certainly a lessening of Æsop’s burthen, but we should, from the general complexion of the committee, from its learning, its liberality, and its prudence, have expected somewhat more decided in character, and less loose, shall we say slovenly, in its technical form. May not these political commissions be likened to medical consultations, of which it has been said by an eminent practitioner, perhaps with unjustifiable severity, “What is done in consequence of such negotiations, (I cannot call them consultations) is the ineffectual result of neutralised opinions, and whenever they take place should be considered as the effect of a criminal contract between physicians (politicians!) to assess the properties (liberties!) of their patients, by a shameful prostitution of the dictates of their conscience.” Indeed both these sorts of conferences are too frequently neutralised by the spirit of compromise, that is, a yielding up of the one side against its sentiments, in order to gain a similar surrender from the other side against its sentiments also; and the consequence of this barter of reciprocal submissions, is, that the medical consultation, in general, produces an inert practice, and in like manner, the political committee begets a sort of creole offspring, neither white nor black, but rather a tawny orange, the mark of a miscellaneous parentage.

To us, this draft of a bill for plenary emancipation appears lame and

defective, and through all its tenor, from beginning to end, quarrelling with its peace-making preamble, professing as *it* does, to put an end to all jealousies, yet certainly any one who reads the whole of this mistrustful document, would conclude that the genius of the British constitution is, indeed “a most jealous God.” What an armoury of oaths! Beneath the whole stage, now in this place, now in that, it is the ghost of English Government which incessantly cries out, “swear—swear,” and yet like the suspicious misanthrope in the play, those very men who are anxious thus to multiply oaths and stitch them together, are at the very same time ready to say to the Catholic body, in the words of Timon, “you are not *oathable*, but having no other alternative, no better security, we shall endeavour, for reasons of state, to believe you.” In our minds, if there be an absolute necessity for the administration of such oaths, the Catholics must be deemed unworthy of the constitution, and those who administer them, in no small degree, betray the citadel of that constitution, in the very act of communicating its full privileges to those whom they so vehemently distrust.

The truth is, that these oaths were made in and for periods of great, not to say extreme political and personal degradation; and the miserable consequence of such an opprobrious disclaimer, imposed upon the Catholic body, is, artificially, to continue and prolong such periods long after their natural decay. One would have thought the period of severe humiliation was past; and that a nation which has risen so rapidly in value, not merchantable value, but the value of high and irreproachable honour, would not be obliged to walk under the yoke of such affronting asseverations, which actually place

on the altar of the constitution the Dagon of Duigenanism, and command not only the present race, but posterity, to fall down and worship it. Five millions of people are called upon, by oath, to qualify themselves for the functions and duties of citizens, in short, for a *loyalty* beyond allegiance; as if the oath of allegiance contained in the first clause of this multifarious disclaimer, did not *in itself*, and *of itself* concisely comprehend the best definition of loyalty. It were really to be wished, since the aforesaid oath of allegiance appears so inadequate to its purpose, that the committee had either itself drawn up, or advertised, like the play-house committee, for a definition, or description of this word loyalty, which is to form the genuine constitutional passport, provided that said definition or description did not extend beyond one page in quarto.

We repeat our indignant sorrow, that, at this time of day, a learned and liberal commission can offer such *defamatory* oaths to be re-sanctioned by the authority of the legislature. Does not this make that high authority as it were *accessory* to the bigotry and prejudice unhappily prevalent among the people? Instead of thus continuing, promulgating, and perpetuating such *libels* upon the principles of our countrymen, *this* was the time, *this* was the glorious opportunity of sweeping away such base and ungenerous suspicions, altogether, from every corner of the public mind, and letting in the light of the sun, and allowing the purifying breath of heaven to breathe upon, and sweeten those stale criminations, and musty slanders, instead of pickling and preserving them after a new receipt, and then prescribing them to all the old women of the British Isles, male and female, as a specific against the Anti Catholic horrors, No; in these very oaths,

they inconsiderately keep up the most invidious line of demarcation, and pale of prejudice; and the very friends of the Catholic cause, have thus authorised the sad, disgraceful necessity of these disavowals, but to which *part* of the country the most disgraceful, it is not hard to discover.

The gentlemen who prepare the draft of the bill appear to have formed a wondrous *close* committee. It appears surprising how little communication it has had with the body most interested in the event of its discussions. Has the committee been put under the charge of some officer of court, under lock and key, preventing all access from abroad? Did it never strike any of the members, *all of them protestant*, that there are "*exparte*" feelings as well as judgments, and that to form a true and impartial conclusion, they must endeavour to place themselves in Catholic bosoms, and by that rule so often repeated and so little practised, do unto others as they would wish that, in the same situation, others should do unto them? Did they advise with the ecclesiastical authorities? Did they consult with the lay deputation from the Catholic board? or did they compound a mass of heterogenous ingredients *cowering* under the apprehension of the prejudices of the country, and from the desire of pleasing all parties, unable to please any?

We consider that the deputation from the Catholic board did but one tenth part of their duty in merely carrying over in their hands the Catholic petition and address; the contents should also have been borne in their heads, and in their hearts. They had certainly no power to decide and determine upon any point, but one should have thought that they were people able to answer questions, and that the committee which

was to prepare the bill were, on their part, desirous to have questions answered. Nothing of this seems to have taken place on either side. The protestant *committee* seems to have acted with self-taught knowledge, and perfect self-sufficiency to settle the whole subject, and the Catholic *deputation* appears merely a passive instrument, a wooden hand with its four fingers, and Lord Fingal as the thumb, to lay a paper upon a table, and let it afterwards shift for itself, sink or swim as the Thracians are said to have done with their new-born children. No Catholic, we think, could possibly have given his assent to the bill as it now stands, and the committee, who we must suppose are friends to Catholic emancipation, must surely have drawn it up without deeming it necessary to have any participation of counsel on the subject, or from the fear that, in no other form, it could be rendered palatable to the house of Commons.

But we declare that, in our opinion not only there should have been a professional adviser in the Catholic deputation, advanced to that stage of eminence as a lawyer, that his profession might pursue him, not be his profession, who might be able and anxious to give every information respecting the sentiments of the Catholics of Ireland, and who might (and why not?) petition to be heard at the bar of the house; an IRISH CATHOLIC, pleading the cause of his countrymen, in all its magnitude, through all its extent, expatiating upon its whole history, with all that expansion of intellect, and enthusiasm of heart, manifested by Edmund Burke, in the best era of his eloquence, when advocating the cause of America against the political intolerance of Great-Britain. If a chartered company can make itself be heard at the bar, why should not a Catholic community; and it is

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much to be doubted, whether it be possible for *Protestants* either in the house or in a committee to understand or feel the whole merits of this momentous case, and to flash (as the circumstances require,) a luminous conviction of the immediate necessity of general emancipation, (*including Catholic and Dissenter*) upon all classes of men, even upon the highest ecclesiastical stations, as the lightning from heaven plays in the darkest night, on the spires of the cathedral\*.

We have said, *including* Catholic and Dissenter, because we contemplated a bill of such comprehensive principle, such an enlarged basis, of such beneficent effects, as to incorporate the Dissenter with the constitution in the one part of the empire, as much as it did the Catholic in the other; and in both, to give and thence to receive, that full and affectionate confidence, without which there really can be no community in citizenship, nor consolidation in the state. In England, the Dissenters do not enjoy the full confidence of the country; in Ireland the Catholics do not possess the full confidence of the Empire; and this jea-

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\* Counsellor O'Connell, at a meeting of the Catholic board observed, that the object of the enlightened liberal Catholics was a participation, not in the government, but in the constitution. An important distinction! For there is a great difference between partaking of the public spoil by an admissibility to the offices in the power of government to confer, and being partners in a free and reformed constitution. The latter is worthy of the aspiration of freemen. Of such men we may cherish the ardent hope, that they will stand conspicuous in the ranks of those who demand political reform. Lord Castlereagh may seek to buy the Catholics, by a Regium Donum to their clergy, to support things, as they are. We are desirous to allure them to the cause of reform, by showing its necessity, and inculcating the lessons of freedom.

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lousy and distrust so inconsistent with the civic fellowship, spring, in both situations, from similar causes, viz. from the statute book countenancing, conniving at, and to say the best of it, *seeming* to encourage an ill-will and alienation in those professing the religion of the state, and a consequent degradation of those contemptuously called sectaries.

Such degradation is felt even in England, under the latent operation of laws, by many judged obsolete and inoperative, although nothing can be inert that weighs with a midge's wing upon character or reputation in life; but in Ireland this has always been severely felt by the Catholics in every class, through every situation of life. It is the spirit of such laws, partial where they are not penal, that whether they be torpid or excited, whether they be sheathed in the scabbard, or suspended over the head by a hair, gives as it were the *tone* to public opinion, and thus sanctions that *disrepute* and *depreciation* which the Protestant Dissenter and the Catholic Dissenter from the Church of England experience, and which of all other feelings is the most intolerable to a generous and honourable mind, whether in private company or in the public association. "We take God to witness," said the Catholic confederates, "that there are no limits set to the scorn and infamy set upon us, and we will be in the *esteem* of loyal subjects, or die to a man." It is on this *equal footing of estimation* (for limits have been long ago set to scorn or infamy) that the Irish Catholic, and, perhaps not in a greatly less degree, the English Dissenter (for we do not here speak of the *established* Dissenters) challenge the consideration of a paternal and impartial legislature. Perhaps their suffering differs in degree, but in

kind it is the same, and in consequence they have made, and we trust to the Catholic fidelity, a quality in which that body have never failed, they will continue to make *common cause* with their Dissenting brethren in England, for their common emancipation, by expunging from the statute book, and thus eventually expelling from the public mind, every *anticivic* feeling on account of difference in religious opinion.

The principle of the Catholic bill is therefore, as we think, contracted, parsimonious, penurious, unbecoming of a liberal legislature, not co-extensive with the evils complained of throughout the empire, nor standing upon any such "pinnacle" of sublime speculation, as Mr. Canning describes, "from whence he could command a full view of the sufferings of his fellow-subjects." Mr. Canning's pinnacle does not rise above the atmosphere of the court. Indeed, as an orator he puts us always in mind rather of a *chimney on fire*. It usually puffs out volumes of smoke, but on extraordinary occasions, and this is one of them, it darts forth sparks of light, and even ejaculates sheets of flame to the wonder of the whole neighbourhood; in a short time however all is over; and the smoke volleys forth as it did before. Mr. Canning, indeed, with all his paroxysm of patriotism, does not fail to conclude with a civil threat "that if the boon proffered were contumaciously refused, *he was*, in that case, determined to take his stand against the Catholics, the same as if *he* had never stood forward their advocate." And so threatened Mr. Ponsonby, and so threatened Mr. Brougham in the case of the Americans, "and if you dare, said Xerxes to the Mediterranean, to withdraw yourself from *my* protection, I shall punish you with stripes, and if you,

Mount Athos presume to put on your cap in my presence, I shall cut you through the middle, and cast you into the sea." But the winds rose and the waves rolled indignantly, notwithstanding the monarch's prohibition; and the people of America, and the people of Ireland will retain their right of judgment in this great case of national interest notwithstanding the caveat held out by puny Parliamentarians. Mirabeau once said, when a question occurred about the powers of Europe, and pointed to his head—"Behold one of these powers;" and our statesman-orators of the day, without half as much reason to be so, appear equally self-important, but with all due respect to them, public opinion is more important than even a congress of such heads.

As for any "contumacious" refusal on the part of the Catholics of whatever may be offered, there is not the slightest room for apprehension. They will no doubt accept graciously, and even thankfully what is their *due*. They have done so hitherto for all the rations of redress, which from time to time have been extended to them, and they will not now, on the approach of a final adjustment, change their good manners, or the placability of a magnanimous mind. But most anxious as they are, and as their fellow countrymen are, for this final adjustment, which will do so much to restore peace and good understanding in this hitherto distracted country, we cannot help declaring it as our firm conviction, on this 19th of May, *before* we know the result of the expected debate on the second reading of the bill, that however Mr. Canning's provisory clauses in addition to the bill, may be fortunate enough to pass through the house, they will never pass through the people. It is not indeed very probable that such a civil commission

of inquisition into ecclesiastical character, can be agreeable to any party in the state, not to the Roman Catholic priesthood, not to the Roman Catholic laity, not to the Protestant laity, nor to the Protestant church. This novelty in legislation introduces in fact an inquisitorial authority, equally injurious to religious independence and civil liberty, and creates an office, which, as we think, must be most repugnant to the feelings of those who are thus to sit in judgment on the lives and opinions of their *spiritual superiors*.

It is really wonderful how bewildered men become when they would set themselves to find a more stable and solid security than the simple oath of allegiance, co-extensive throughout all classes and all religions with the wide-spread relationship of subject and sovereign. We must, say these great statesmen, succumbing, as they do, to what we just now find Lord Castlereagh calls the "honest old prejudices" of the country, not endeavouring to disperse them, we must, say they, set about making new oaths, or at least let us stitch the two old ones together.

"No," says the same conciliating Lord, "an oath is not to be supposed the *sole* ground of security, that would shew a *poverty* of legislative power and an ignorance of mankind;" we suppose he meant their facility in evading or breaking an oath, which makes the said oath an insecure and inadequate test of Catholic, and we presume to add, as much so of *Protestant* loyalty. What then is to be done? Appoint a loyalty board, says Mr. Canning, the first Lord of which, after proper examinations, and full answers to every question in the catechism of character, may affix the testimonial of civism to the ecclesiastical aspirant; but take care during all this process, to have a Protestant spy or two among these Catholic commissioners

who may superintend the loyalty of the board itself, and its due subservience to the crown which nominated it, for the purpose of making the veto somewhat more palatable to the Catholic people. "Ah!" says Lord Castlereagh, "this will never operate as a sufficient security for loyalty. Believe me, both clergy and laity, as far as my knowledge of mankind goes, and young as I appear, I am hoary in this experience, are led by their personal interests. Try the efficacy of a new *Regium Donum*! My anxious wish has been, and continues to be, such an *arrangement* as would reconcile the duties of the Catholic clergy with their *interests*, and I can never dream of their *doing less* for such royal or even parliamentary remuneration, than the Presbyterians, whose church system was infinitely more republican; whereas the church of Rome purely monarchical, is well prepared to assimilate with the genius of the constitution," that is, to the will of the monarch. "This would give additional facilities to the admission of the whole body to the desired privileges, for if you secure the shepherds, the sheep will assuredly follow, as my experience again can testify in the most satisfactory manner. In short, you may depend upon my "*aurum potabile*" as the true specific, the only test and touch-stone of loyalty. I am the Solomon, I beg pardon, I meant to say the Dr. Solomon of the state, and take my word that oaths are neither binding upon love nor loyalty, but once load the veriest ass of a viceroy with two panniers full of pensions, and compensations, and concordatum money, and royal donations, and he will soon enter triumphantly the strong-hold of the Irish heart. I say *subsidize* the affections of the Catholic clergy, and you need not torture your imaginations in contriving oaths to secure the loyalty of the Catholic people.

The spiritual authority will gradually draw the temporal after it, and the keys of heaven will be deposited along with the keys of the treasury."

In spite of the ambiguity either studied or natural, and through a haze of expression, which partly reveals, but designedly conceals the whole meaning, we may collect, that the opinion of this minister, and probably of the majority of the cabinet, is, to let the Test laws against the Dissenters remain in a state of suspended animation, from the "*inconvenience*" which would result in disturbing the "*honest old prejudices* of the country;" and respecting the Catholics, to rest upon some better security, in *addition* to the multifarious oaths already to be proffered, that is, by humbling the *independence* of the Catholic religion, as it did before the independence of the country, to turn it into a minor, secondary establishment; and by dividing the *unity* of the said religion, to connect three-quarters of it to a pecuniary connection with the crown, and leave the remaining quarter to be divided between the Pope and the people. By such "*arrangements*," a most favourite word in the mouth of this minister, the practical meaning of which may be well understood by every kept mistress in the country, the necessity of any board of Commissioners for church affairs would be superseded, which scheme would introduce a new estate into the constitution, not always easily manageable, and a Pope into the country, without the benefit of sweet conciliation and social compact between the crown, to be placed in the centre of the state establishment, supporting and supported by the Catholic prelacy on the one side, and the Presbyterian Synod on the other. The three religions thus uniting, like the three civil estates, in the support of our glorious Constitution exactly as it now stands,



to the utter confusion of all reformers, and the defeat of their mad machinations.

Indeed we marvel much, that among all the schemes of further security from the *foreign* interference, our able and enterprising ministers have not formed a plan for stealing the Pope. Surely of all their continental expeditions, this would be the best; and it is to be supposed, that he himself would give, according to the fashionable phrase, all the necessary facilities. If they were at a loss for arrangements, some of their Indian allies would no doubt come forward to lend his experience in these predatory incursions. Sir Sidney Smith might give a few useful hints. And thus the Catholic religion might become, as it were, insulated, identified with the interests of the country, the "*sacra insula*," so long desecrated by dissensions, become sanctified again, and all fear of French interference for ever dissipated and destroyed.

Now, on the whole, we think our statesmen still as much at a loss for securities as before, and disagreeing totally about them, both in nature and in mode. By the bill, as brought in, many grievances remain unrepealed, and final adjustment is still indefinitely protracted; we hope not until the time that law is to provide, in its perverse ingenuity, for those securities which honesty and honour can at present supply in plain and simple allegiance. We object to the bill not so much for its want of technical form, its language inadequate to its intended objects, its personal exceptions, its vague and disputable indulgencies, its exclusions from participation in the highly endowed establishments of education, and the higher offices in the law department, its inefficacy against corporation-monopoly, its doubtful phrases, imperfections and omissions,

not so much for all this do we protest against this bill, as for leaving the Dissenters of England in the lurch, and for endeavouring to wound political liberty through the operation of regulations and boards, that make a monstrous mixture and confusion of civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and draw them both, by an ever-acting and at last an irresistible suction into the vortex of royal, or more properly, of ministerial influence, in which whirlpool the noblest feelings of human nature are so often swallowed up and lost. The cries of Patriotism are heard fainter and fainter, and Religion itself in vain extends her arms to Heaven. Most strange it is, that emancipation in *this* mode, and with these Canning clauses, becomes inimical to the independence of their church, as well as to the liberties of the Catholic people, and we should expect from some patriotic member, a bill of counter-security from the delusions and dangers of this remedial act.

We think, however, that the Catholic Board acts with sage discretion, in procrastinating until the 5th of June, any public determination on the subject, at present agitated in the House of Commons, particularly as a solemn session of Catholic prelates is to be held in Dublin on Tuesday the 25th instant, whose decision, in respect to a great part of the proposed bill, will be received with the respect due to such authority. But, in the mean time, the subject must and will meet with *popular* discussion, and the press will promulgate it. It is a foolish thing for the framers or the followers of the bill to be angry at this. Public opinion is the result of individual discussion; and should the mouths of the people be padlocked, or their minds placed under an interdict in an *early* stage of such questions, their opposition, if they should op-

pose, might afterwards come *too late*. When Bishop Tillotson mentioned to Lord Russell his doubts on the right of resistance, until things were come to great extremities, "But then," replied that truly noble Lord, it will be *too late*." In the same way, it might happen, with respect to the right of inquiry common to all the people, and we would not scruple to call it impertinent in any representative of the people, who, in a matter of such common concern, and in this meridian of human intellect, would clap a bushel over the head of every man out of a public assembly, who should speak or write his sentiments respecting this bill, and represent him as an intermeddler, an agitator, and an incendiary. The Veto of the crown would have passed but for the Veto of the people. The tribunate of the people has been, and will be, in its greatest extremities, the salvation of the state. It is a salutary curb to the licence of constitutional authorities, and operates, we hope, as an external conscience on Parliament itself. It is omnipotent only through its justice.

And this justice will, we should think, be extended to the Dissenters of England, as well as the Catholics of Ireland, who are really both united in the self-same cause of religious freedom, that is, a parity of political power with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, without respect to difference in religious opinion. The act known by the name of the *Toleration* act, not yet repealed, denies to persons who disbelieve in the Trinity, the benefits of toleration; disabling all persons who in writing or conversation assert such disbelief, from holding any office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military, on conviction; and if a second time convicted, they are disabled to sue or prosecute in any action or information, or to be

the guardian of any child, and liable to be imprisoned for three years. Such is the act, the intolerant act of Toleration, passed in the reign of the tolerant King William, and the object of a bill lately introduced by Mr. Wm. Smith, is to do away these penalties. It evidently proves what has been neglected in the *Catholic Bill*, the necessity, however painful to the feelings of both parties, of reciting particularly the acts repealed, as this act remains on the statute-book, ready for use, notwithstanding the act of the 19th of his present Majesty, which dispenses with the necessity of subscribing the articles of the Church of England, professing the belief in the Trinity. We trust, that the bills for granting farther relief to the Catholics, and to the Dissenters from the Church of England, will proceed "*pari passu*," and that the Test laws will be repealed in one country, while the penal laws are abolished in the other. This alone will testify an impartial, paternal spirit in the legislature; and any other conduct will appear, not the result of patriotic policy, but to be forced upon them by the pressure of temporary exigencies, and by military, rather than civil considerations.

We repeat our belief, that the Bill, with its imperfections on its head, will be received as a very important advancement to Catholic Emancipation, but by no means, in its present state at least, to be treated as a final and conclusive adjustment. The concord, cordiality, and good understanding of leading Parliamentary characters, with respect to the *principle*, is very satisfactory, because the principle is pregnant with *future* blessings for the *people*, which, in truth, we do not see perfectly disclosed in the proposed enactment. But the people will certainly have a watchful eye upon

a bill which is professedly for the benefit of the *people*. Is it a bill merely for the amalgamation of the Catholic with the Protestant aristocracy, and the elevation of Catholic lawyers, with the creation of a sort of Lay Pope, by the political theology of Mr. Canning? No. We trust it is a bill *prospective*, rather than permanent and conclusive. It is not the promotion of parties or professions; but it is the *diffusion* and *distribution* of the comforts of life through the whole extent of the country, through its whole circulation; this is the thing *yet* wanted for the emancipation of the people, in a patriotic point of view, and we may add, also in the views of the financier.

We have seen a plant, part of which was introduced into a hot-house, bursting with blossoms and perfuming the place with opening flowers, while the rest of the plant, and even its roots, in the inclement air were to all appearance dead. Such is Ireland, generally speaking, with the exception of the North. If the Nation be ridden like a hack, you should at least *feed* it well. But strange as it is, it is only very lately that our political economists have judged it at all necessary to put the country as it were *into heart*, by spreading out any manure, but by repeated crops of public and professional taxation, go on to exhaust and impoverish it. This *has been* their plan of political husbandry; but now having got, as they think, by the legislative union, a long lease of Ireland, they resolve to do what they can to make the most of it, to bestow attention upon it, to make it a productive farm, and, for their own sakes, to cultivate, to meliorate, to emancipate. Ah! how lamentable it is, that governors can be impelled only by the calamities of the times, to *act* from their closet

convictions, that the general prosperity, and productive powers of a country in general, can be rationally and durably established on no other foundation than the particular happiness of the greatest number of individuals.

Taxation and Emancipation are like to go on "*pari passu*;" and at the very time "the relief bill" is brought in, in matters of religion, the young man who struts his hour as Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, proposes to replenish it by an additional quarter to the assessed taxes, while England is looking round, as if at the utmost limit of actual taxation. Any fashionable young man will serve for an Irish Chancellor;\* for there is little memory of the ancient regulation in Greece, which placed the direction of affairs in the hands of those *who had best cultivated their lands*: as they concluded, that *they* would be watchful of the public interest who had taken proper care of their own. The very contrary rule seems to have been for a long time past adopted in the choice of an Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer; and it is concluded, we think unjustly, that by the facility found in raising a loan of two millions at little more than five per cent, that the state of the country is most prosperous, when in reality this facility is referable to the anxiety of disposing of that quan-

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\* The late proposal of allowing the admission of foreign linen on bond for exportation to our colonies, &c., at a small duty, which would have operated so injuriously to the linen manufacture, and which would probably have taken place, but for the instant interference of the trade, and, it seems, of the Regent's favourite, Lord Yarmouth. This business evinces pretty strongly the vigilance of our Chancellor of the Exchequer in what relates to the real interests of Ireland; but his *business* is only to find subjects of taxation.

ty of nominal wealth, which can find no profitable employment in commerce, and forbodes a continuance of exclusion from America as well as Europe. Government gets plenty of men for soldiers when manufactures decline, and much superfluous labour is in the market; and, in like manner, government will get loans of money, or what passes as money, when the commercial interest is cutting out of trade, or beginning to grow sick of barren speculation.

The campaign in the North of Europe has commenced; and the plains of Saxony have been inundated with human blood.\* Insignificant places like Lutzen, obtain distinction by their neighbourhood to great battles; as little imps with absolute power obtain the appella-

tion of great conquerors. Contradictory statements keep up curiosity and credulity in the columns of our public prints. "If lies," said old Frederic of Prussia, "be told in passing from this chamber to the next, how many lies may well be propagated between Potsdam and Paris."\* Yet we freely acknowledge, that the French accounts are drawn up with such distinctness of detail, and military circumstance, that we believe in general, as well as in their late account of the battle at Lutzen, there is not much exaggeration. And if with half of their army, almost wholly composed of infantry, they defeated the confederate force so superior in respect to cavalry, and in a plain so well suited to their operation, it may be concluded, that the consequence of this bloody engagement will be an instant check to all insurrectionary spirit in Ger-

\* .....It is a splendid sight to see  
(For one who hath no friend, no brother there,)

Their rival scarfs of mix'd embroidery,  
Their various arms that glitter in the air!  
What gallant war-hounds rouse them from  
their lair,

And gnash their fangs, loud yelling for  
the prey!

All join the chase, but few the triumph  
share;

The GRAVE shall bear the chiefest prize  
away,

And HAVOC scarce for joy can number  
their array.

There shall they rot. Ambition's honour'd  
fools,

Yes, Honour decks the turf that wraps  
their clay!

Vain Sophistry! in these behold the tools,  
The broken tools, that tyrants cast away  
By myriads, when they dare to pave their  
way

With human hearts—to what?—a dream  
alone.

Can despots compass aught that hails their  
sway?

Or call with truth one span of earth their  
own,

Save that wherein at last they crumble  
bone by bone?

*Lord Byron's Child Harold.*

\* The following extract from Wakefield's Account of Ireland, manifests the long continued practice of deceiving the public.

"11th September, 1808. Being in company this day with Sir William Rowley, his son, and the Rev. Joshua Rowley, we observed pasted on the post-office door at Rathmelton, in the County of Donegal, a printed paper, with the King's arms at top, like a gazette, in which an account was given of the French being defeated in Spain, and that 14,000 of them had been killed by the blowing up of a mine at Saragossa. We inquired of the post-master from whom he had received this intelligence, and were told, that it was contained in a paper transmitted to him, in the inside of the *Correspondent*, the Castle newspaper, with an order to make it publicly known; he, therefore, conceived it to be an official communication. I saw a similar paper, some days after, on the door of the post-office at Moneymore, in Derry; and another, in March, 1809, at the post-office of Fethard, in Wexford. As these accounts were entirely false, it need excite no wonder, that the people should disbelieve real events, when regularly communicated."

many, a new consolidation of the Rhenish confederacy, an affirmation of the family compact with Austria, a relief of Dantzic, and the other strong places under blockade, the retreat of the Russian and Prussian armies, and the politic procrastination of any vigorous co-operation on the part of Sweden.

It has been the curse that has always attended, and ever will attend, the plans of coalescent powers, that for want of some imperative authority, some dominating soul, they are always suspecting each other, and while professing the highest consideration for the liberties of Europe, are always secretly active only for their separate interests. Russia, by way of bribing the assistance of Sweden, guarantees to her the possession of Norway, which, during the space of 400 years, has been annexed to the crown of Denmark; and Great Britain joins in this guarantee.\* Bernadotte, therefore, will rather turn his attention to take possession of Norway, than to co-operate with his whole strength on the Southern shores of the Baltic. His

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\* Denmark has been peculiarly unjustly treated by Great Britain. An attack was made on Copenhagen, and the Danish fleet seized; and because recompense was perseveringly demanded for these outrages, even in the late mission of Bernstoff, a Danish nobleman, it is said, of great talents, and high character for integrity, Britain joins in the attempt to wrest Norway from Denmark. Such is the sample of the justice of nations. An awful presage is thus exhibited of what may be expected if the present coalition should be successful against France. Yet we cannot praise the justice of France. The execution of the citizens of Bremen, who, in a change of times, deserted the French, and returned to their old independence, is a flagrant act of injustice and cruelty, and manifests to the impartial, that the laws of justice are equally disregarded by France, as by the allies. Impartiality compels us to denounce crimes, by whichever side they are perpetrated.

aim is to profess, and to procrastinate. That of Napoleon to perform and to anticipate. A stirring dwarf is better than a sleeping giant. But with all its experience of coalitions, national credulity, that firmly believed a woman could live three years without all manner of sustenance, still believes as firmly as if it had never been fatally deceived, that the different parts of Europe will be shortly placed in the exact relative situation they maintained before the French Revolution; and that his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland is gone to superintend the treaty of partition.

The contrast between the indissolubility of the French, and the loosened state of the coalitions which have so vainly counteracted Napoleon, is every day more exemplified by experience, and proves that there is some radical defect in their confederacies. The French appear to be a race born to confirm itself, in city, in country, and in camp, to a military subordination; and if their ruler be a great man, as the first of the Dynasty generally is, they will infallibly be the greatest of nations. The personal glory of the Monarch operates with the whole nation as powerfully as the most enthusiastic patriotism. When the gulf of danger yawns, there is always a Curtius ready to devote himself—and the gulf closes up by the influence of multiplied examples. "*Rege incolumi, mens omnibus una est.*" And if it should so happen, that the King of Rome should turn out a frivolous, feeble, fashionable, feasting, characterless character, it is not improbable, that the hair-dressers, men-milliners, tailors, and opera dancers of France, will resume their sway over Europe as absolutely as it is now maintained by their moveable columns, and their unparalleled artillery.

In the mean time, Napoleon ad-  
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vances to Dresden, and, most probably, after one or two more battles, will move still onward to Poland, and the frontiers of Russia. There, it is likely, he will be *stopt*—by the proposal of accommodation, which ought to have been made the instant he before abandoned the Russian empire, and justified itself to the world by the moderation and magnanimity of its terms. But winter goes, and spring follows, in the interchange of messengers, and the consultations of cabinets; and England has scarcely had time to talk a little on the disastrous discomfiture and total destruction of the French armies, on the insurrection of Germany, the neutrality of Austria, the friendship of Sweden, the spoliation of Denmark, and the breaking up of the continental system, than accounts are received, though tardily believed, of Bonaparte beginning the campaign with the battle of Lutzen. Such is the celerity with which a military nation seconds the designs of a sovereign, whose cabinet of state is in *his own head*, and who is marching his columns, while coalitions are corresponding on the plan of the coming campaign.

The Emperor of Russia has professed his mediation between Britain and the United States of America. Although in strict alliance with Britain, it is the etiquette of Belligerent states to receive such offers with a good grace, and America will no doubt conform to the ceremonial; but if it be true that the town of Norfolk has been laid in ashes by the fleet under Admiral Warren, it is not likely, that a pacific spirit will be the result, especially if, as is much to be feared, there be treaties of commercial alliance ratified between France and America. America certainly would act a wiser part in keeping her subject of difference *apart*, and not to implicate herself or her concerns

with any European power; although in the present state of the world, which absorbs all neutrality, and occasions the universal necessity of being friend or foe, this insulation of interest is become nearly impracticable.

In the course of this warfare with America, we think the recollection of the *exiles* and *emigrants* from Ireland, the avowed and most active and indefatigable hostility of the former, and the distaste and dissatisfaction of the latter, with the primary causes, and the fatal consequences of such hostility, and alienation, now fully experienced, we think such recollection must knock at the political consciences of those ministers, whose measures of strong government having done all the mischief they possibly could, are now to be changed for plans of concord and conciliation. The historian is waiting in the temple of Truth, before he delivers to posterity a full, fair, and impartial account of past events in the sagacious investigation of their genuine *causes*—in the resistance made to reform of any kind, public or domestic, political or religious; in the personal virulence and vindictiveness of men in office becoming the leading principle of official conduct; in the abandonment of the people by the superior classes, after having encouraged and stimulated them to a high pitch of enthusiasm; in that pride, self-sufficiency, and presumption, which enthusiasm is so apt to generate in new-made leaders, and which enthusiasm, like all short-lived passions, has sunk of late years into the most opposite disposition of mind, the greatest indifference, apathy and oblivion: on these and various other causes the historian will expatiate, and prove their truth by multiplied and circumstantial example. And, in the meantime, the petty periodical writer has deeply to deplore the infatuation of

those councils, that have placed so many of his indignant countrymen at the end of so long a lever, in aiding the arms of America; and to hope from the bottom of his heart, that such councils may be shortly succeeded by such a system as will bind every Irishman, at home and abroad, by every public and personal tie to his dear native Land!

The rage\* for addressing the Princess of Wales still continues in England. The force of public opinion is shown in the case of Robert Waithman, the honest man of the people in London. He at first had his doubts, and for a time hesitated, but he was soon carried along with the current, and became active in promoting addresses. The conduct of Lord Sidmouth in refusing to admit into the Gazette the address of the Common Council of the city of London to the Princess, shows the disposition of the Prince Regent. The motion to censure Lord Sidmouth was negatived in the Common Council, and the matter rests for the present. We will not admit the sentiment that Robert Waithman was influenced in the change of conduct, by a desire to continue to possess popular favour by the sacrifice of principle: and however we may rejoice in the free expression of public feeling,†

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\* This slang phrase of more polite life, is very expressive, and admirably designates the force of fashion, and following a leader, whether in the frivolities of dress, or manners, or in the often no less frivolous turn of public opinion. For want of the habit of reflecting and examining, *rages* come into vogue.

† The following extract from the address to the Princess, from the inhabitants of Westminster, breathes the bold untamed spirit of liberty.

"But we are unable to express our grief and astonishment, at the cruelty, injustice, and insolence with which your Royal Highness' appeal was withheld

even if that feeling should at times be in error, yet still there is room to doubt, whether wisdom and prudence are conspicuous in the present effervescence of public feeling in favour of the Princess. In the merited disapprobation of the conduct of the party opposed to her, let us not forget her failings, and frivolities; and let us not think it necessary to go the full length of party men, to see no cause of blame on one side, because we see much to blame on the other. In opposition to the Prince it is necessary to beware of setting up the Princess. Let us not do wrong, merely that we may be on the opposite side from the sycophants of a court. The people may, by past experience, have learned the folly of setting the heir apparent in contrast with the possessor of a throne. The Princess Charlotte may equally disappoint the hopes of a nation. We have recently seen too sanguine hopes not realised, which however greater sobriety of feeling might have prevented us from forming. It is a proof of wisdom to distrust, and to refrain from cherishing high-raised hopes on slight appearances. Confidence to be lasting, or useful,

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from the House of Lords, or at the cold and reluctant reception it met with from a corrupt majority of the House of Commons; and we assure your Royal Highness, that upon this, as upon most other occasions, the sentiments of that corrupt majority are no ways in conformity with those of the people; and we flatter ourselves your Royal Highness will not, from so inadequate a criterion, estimate the feelings of a loyal and generous nation. We ardently hope the treatment your Royal Highness has received, will deeply imprint on the mind of every thinking man, this great, this indisputable truth; that without an honest House of Commons, justice can no more be ensured to the highest than to the lowest individual in the land."

must be a plant of slow growth. A man may be a church-going man, exact in the exterior of religion, and loud in making the responses in the church, and yet have the vices of avarice, of a fondness for war, and a leaning to the side of arbitrary notions of the prerogative, to disqualify him from doing his duty. The people may become disgusted with instances of mis rule, and flying from the present, may look to a successor, and yet in the end perceive, that in the open profligacy of manners, and the disregard alike of virtue, and of the appearances of it, matters are not mended.

The proceedings at Liverpool at page 411, in favour of Parliamentary Reform discover that the people are not wholly asleep. It affords satisfaction to record such a display of public spirit, and we regret that occasions are not more frequent.

The prevailing temper and dispositions of a people, are often manifested by those which may appear rather trivial occurrences, and the recorder of events in shewing "the body and pressure of the times," would negligently discharge his duty, if he omitted to notice them. In the estimate of national manners, they are of as great importance to the philosophical observer, as matters apparently of greater magnitude.

At Tutbury in England, Ann Moore, who was called the fasting woman, long imposed on public credulity by pretending she had lived without taking food for a number of years. Many believed her, and it is said she contrived to levy large sums off those who were dupes to her artifice. She even evaded the vigilance of a watch, which was undertaken some months ago to ascertain the truth of her story, by some of her friends mingling with others in this watch, and permitting her to receive nourishment when their turn came.

Lately a more vigilant examination took place, and the imposture was detected. The matter of surprise and reproach is, that public credulity is so great as to believe that human life could be supported without sustenance, and that she received the smallest credit to her story. Effect must follow cause, and a deprivation of nourishment must produce death. So much for the rationality of this enlightened era, affording a proof of the dwarfishness of intellect in this age of boasted civilization and refinement. The prodigious sale of Moore's Almanack in England amounting to many thousands annually, also proves that there is great backwardness in the growth of mind, as this work is founded on the calculations of astrology and pretends to predict events, and to foretell the state of the weather.

Such is English credulity. Let us look at home, and we shall behold in our own neighbourhood, an instance of cullibility joined with the banes of this country, bigotry, and party-spirit. A carpenter in Lisburn, named James Creighton, on some account chose to leave his wife and family. He appears to have meditated on his plan of proceeding for a long time, fabricated a story of an attempt to way lay him, and turned a circumstance of a stone passing near to him at an accidental fire, into a design to do him a mischief; and a day or two before his going away, said that he had received a letter from a gentleman in the neighbourhood, desiring him to come to him on business. This letter he showed to the gentleman, in whose name it had been written, who informed him, he had not written it. Thus having prepared the way, as he thought, securely by this letter most probably written by himself to give plausibility to the apprehensions of his being murdered, from the supposition of a



pre-concerted plan to call him from home, he suddenly disappeared in the town of Belfast in the middle of the day. Two vessels sailed for Scotland, about the hour of his disappearance, and they who thought rationally on the subject, supposed that he had gone off in one of them. The party calling themselves loyal thought proper to put a different construction on the affair, and affected to suspect all who doubted their assertions, as little better than the abettors of assassination; for they said Creighton had been a loyal Orangeman, and must have fallen a martyr to his loyalty, a quality of which many boast, but which when it comes to be accurately defined, and the motives inducing to it sifted, is generally found to be in one shape or another a modification of base self-interest. To add to the absurdity of the story, the elopement happening in the spring of 1812, just about the time of signatures being obtained to the petition of Protestants in favour of Catholic emancipation, it was not obscurely hinted, that he was a man of such mighty consequence, that the Papists had murdered him, as the first victim in their struggle to obtain power. The reader may be tempted to smile at the absurdity, if he be not shocked at the enormity of the attempt. If any persons believed such a story, they were to be pitied for their imbecility, but they who propagated it from sinister views, without believing it, are objects of merited detestation. Fear, or the affectation of it, has a most powerful tendency to render men cruel, and to incite to crimes, and the spirit of Orangism acting on this real or pretended passion would in times favourable to its excesses be ready to immolate its victims. Many of the adherents of this system, though they are now muzzled by the laws, and by public opinion refusing

to sanction their excesses, give cause to dread what they would do, if they had unlimited influence. Power rather than the inclination to do mischief appears to be wanting. Doubtless there may be virtuous men entangled through their prejudices in this system, and for them due allowance ought to be made, yet still we must consider the Orange associations as the cause of many evils in the community; they are exclusionary, and actuated by party motives in their origin, illegal in their object, tumultuous, irritating, and often bloodthirsty in their manner of proceeding. To them Ireland owes many of the evils now disturbing the peace, at least of this part of the country. Orangemen are as objectionable on the principles of law and justice, as the Caravats, the Shanavasts, and the Carders of the South, and a wise government would find it to be their duty and their best policy, equally to repress them. But to return from the digression which gave rise to these remarks, to the conclusion of the business, which however, unluckily for the party, happily for the country, has terminated rather ludicrously, by this loyal, honest James Creighton, being accidentally found by some of his former acquaintance at Woolwich. He had, about two months after his absconding, enlisted in the artillery, in which he is now a corporal in the artificers' corps. His honesty permitted him to desert his family, and his loyalty allowed him to try to throw the burden of their support on his brethren in loyalty, or any others who might be dupes to his imposture. It is difficult to restrain indignation at the knavishness of the man, or the still greater crime of those, who affected to give a turn of party to the affair. It was a clumsy trick of the man, and of those who praised him. They both did their utmost to produce mis-

chief in the country, by raising unjust suspicions, and it is a matter of satisfaction that the truth has been at last discovered.

The Spanish Regency, at the head of which is a Cardinal, proceed in their exertions to put down the Inquisition, and have published a proclamation against the papal nuncio, for attempting to influence the clergy against reading the former edict for its abolition. Here we have the real progress of mind. The opponents of the Catholics have attempted to bring forward the interference of the nuncio, as a proof against Catholic liberality, and of the danger of removing restrictions from them. But such sophistical reasoning is triumphantly refuted by the fact they themselves adduce. A Catholic nation headed by an ecclesiastic of high eminence, opposes foreign interference, and advocates the enlightened principles of liberty, by the demolition of a cruel penal code. Protestants, go and act likewise! The abolition of all restrictions on religious opinions is an act of justice, and we most sincerely desire the removal of them, both at home, in Spain, and all over the world. We equally disapprove of a papal nuncio seeking to perpetuate the iniquitous authority of the inquisition, or of an Orange faction trying to depress our Catholic brethren, and retain them in unmerited subjection. In both cases, may the efforts of the friends of civil and religious liberty, triumph over interested opposition!

The Irish Roman Catholic prelates have, as we expected, at their meeting\* on the 26th inst. unanimously re-

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\* According to Lord Castlereagh's wish, Mr. Plunket has come over as a smoothing-iron to remove all the difficulties of this question, whether civil or spiritual. We think the gentleman, with all his weight and address, will be of little avail in this

solved that the ecclesiastical securities devised in the bill, are utterly incompatible with the discipline of their church, and with the free exercise of their religion, and therefore, without the heavy guilt of schism, they cannot accede to such regulations.

But contrary to our expectation, contrary to the best hopes of our hearts disposed as they are and ever will be to the peace, concord and prosperity of these kingdoms, the Catholic bill, in its principal clause providing for the admission of the Roman Catholics into Parliament, is thrown out by a majority of 251 against 247; and the bill, thus robbed of its best boon, has been abandoned by its friends, but not, we trust, in despair. At the present moment we have neither the opportunity, nor the power to say all we should wish to do on this subject; and it is perhaps, on all such occasions, best both for individuals, and for the public, to retire for a while, into their own breasts, and pause, before they commit themselves, either in speech, in writing, or in action. STEADY! STEADY!

Yet considering that the securities provided by the bill trenched on the scruples of the Catholics, and would have considerably increased the influence of the crown, through the proposed commission for the approbation of bishops, the rejection is not an object of great regret. The

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business, and we should have thought him more usefully employed, had his avocations allowed him to remain, for a few days, in his place in Parliament. One vote would certainly have been gained, and we will do his abilities (which certainly are very considerable, though not of the first order,) the credit to believe, that they might have turned the vote of the House in favour of the Bill. Why can personal interest, at such a time, interfere with public duty?

bill as it stood, would not have removed all causes of dissention. Half measures or compromises seldom succeed. It is perhaps better that nothing should be done, until the public mind is so enlarged, as to grant freely, ungrudgingly and *without suspicion*. Adversity may possibly at no great distance of time, prepare the way for a more generous and effectual procedure. Until that crisis arrives when nations as well as individuals, "slowly wise," are forced to learn, and who, in any school less severe, would prove truants, we must postpone our hopes of Catholic Emancipation, and Parliamentary Reform, the two grand principles, to which the friends of liberty look, and on which they build their expectations of religious and civil liberty, of substantial peace and stability, and permanent security. On the subject of leaving religious opinions free, the public mind both in Great Britain and Ireland has made great advances in the course of a few years, and it is hoped it will shortly be still farther progressive to the complete removal of all obstacles.

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*The following book was not published in time to be noticed in the List of New Publications.*

Retractions; or, A Review of, and Reply to, a Pamphlet, entitled, "Substance of Two Speeches, delivered in the General Synod of Ulster, at its annual meeting, in 1812, by the Rev. Robert Black, D.D., senior Presbyterian minister of Londonderry; with an account, &c. &c.;" by William Steel Dickson, D.D.

#### REVIEW.

At the advanced period of the month, when this publication appeared, we have neither time nor room for many remarks.

Many pages are occupied by disputes about words, which, however important to those immediately engaged in the minutiae of the controversy, or to the combatants on either side, are less interesting to the general reader; and this frequently

necessary attention to critical exactness, tends to render controversy dry and fatiguing to those who cannot be expected to enter minutely into the spirit of the contest. In verbal disputations, principle, which ought to be the most important part of the controversy, is not seldom lost sight of. The lines of Pope, quoted by Dr. Dickson, on the occasion are very applicable.

"Divines, like fools, at war about a name,  
Have full as oft no meaning, as the same."

After much disquisition on verbal points, our author proceeds to refute most of the charges brought against him by Dr. Black in his speech at the last Synod, and in his subsequent publication reviewed at page 407 of our 52d number. In one instance, Dr. Dickson admits his falling into an error through misinformation, or misconception; but from the other charges, he appears, as far as our limited knowledge of the circumstances of the case extends, to exculpate himself satisfactorily, yet, in the progress of the business, we keep an unprejudiced ear to hear what Dr. Black may have to advance, either in print, or at the approaching Synod.

This work has certainly an interest with the public, founded on the principle at issue, independent of the personal dispute between the parties. The cause of independence, and the best interests of the Dissenting Church are at issue, and on this account we feel ourselves interested, and endeavour to raise a similar interest in our readers, by recommending the present book to their attentive perusal. It remains to be seen, how far the *Regium Donum* will be found to operate to give a political bias to a religious body, and we acknowledge we have fears on this head, from the line hitherto adopted by Dr. Black and his adherents, whose chief aim appears to be, to throw suspicions on their opponent's political character, and more especially when we read a declaration made in the Presbytery of Bangor, by one of their members, in 1799, that "if the *Regium Donum* were not withdrawn from Dr. Dickson, they would be considered as inimical to government." Such appears to us the bitter fruits of an ecclesiastical body receiving a demi-establishment from the government. The members necessarily, from the very nature of the connexion, become subservient to their new patrons, and strengthen the in-